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ARTICLES

| | | |
|---|----------------------|----|
| There Is a Religious Revival! | Will Herberg | 45 |
| Social Interaction of Three Denominations in the Inner City. | Moses N. DeLaney | 50 |
| Socio-Economic Factors and American Fundamentalism | Everett L. Perry | 57 |
| Recent Doctoral Dissertations in Sociology of Religion | Frederick A. Shippey | 61 |
| Harlan Paul Douglass: Pioneer Researcher in the Sociology of Religion | Edmund deS. Brunner | 63 |

REVIEWS OF CURRENT BOOKS

| | |
|---|----|
| Muelder: <i>Foundations of the Responsible Society</i> | 75 |
| Robert E. Fitch | |
| Walsh and Fursey: <i>Social Problems and Social Action</i> | 78 |
| Peter L. Berger | |
| Argyle: <i>Religious Behavior</i> | 80 |
| Glen W. Trimble | |
| Wylie: <i>Human Nature and Christian Marriage</i> , and Bowman: <i>A Christian Interpretation of Marriage</i> | 81 |
| Roy W. Fairchild | |
| Boulding et al: <i>What Is the Nature of Man?</i> Tom F. Driver | 83 |
| Dohrman: <i>California Cult</i> , and Webber: <i>Escape to Utopia</i> . Robert Lee | 84 |

| | |
|--------------------------------|----|
| Annual Meeting Notes | 85 |
|--------------------------------|----|

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45

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57

61

63

75

78

80

81

83

84

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THERE IS A RELIGIOUS REVIVAL!

Will Herberg
Drew University

Editorial note: This paper comments upon S. M. Lipset's article, "Religion in America: What Religious Revival?" which was reprinted in the REVIEW OF RELIGIOUS RESEARCH, Summer 1959, from the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY FORUM, Winter 1959.

Nothing Seymour Martin Lipset writes can fail to be interesting and instructive. His recent article, raising some searching questions about the contemporary "religious revival" is no exception. The main thesis of this article may, I think, be restated in four propositions, somewhat as follows: (a) America has long been a "religious" country. (b) American religion has long been more or less secularized in character. (c) While changes have, of course, occurred in our religious belief and practice, "by far the most striking aspect of religious life in America is not the changes that have occurred in it, but the basic continuities it retains." (d) Talk about a contemporary "revival" of religion, or about a change in its character in recent times, is therefore rather dubious and hardly borne out by the evidence.

I do not find anything in the first proposition to demur at; America has long been a "religious" country by Western standards of comparison--at least since the great revival movements of the early nineteenth century. Nor would I very strenuously object to the second proposition; foreign observers through the nineteenth century did find American religion secularistic in character, with a strong pragmatic orientation. It is the third proposition that I hesitate at. It all depends. If you examine things in a sufficiently long-term perspective, continuities are always more striking than changes; yet the changes are there, and when examined in another perspective, seem very important. This, I think, is true about the contemporary religious situation. When the religious situation that has developed in the past twenty years is compared with that of the immediately preceding decades, a significant change is to be noted, and that change may properly be described as a "revival" of religion, paradoxically accompanied by an increasing secularization of a very special kind. I would not say that my reading of the past differs very markedly from Mr. Lipset's; I do think, however, that recent developments should be evaluated in a rather different way.

What I should like to do is to indicate four types of evidence to sustain my position, which is the position I developed at length in my book, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955; 2d rev. ed., Doubleday-Anchor, 1960). I indicate four types of evidence because neither space nor occasion permits any extensive display of the material; my presentation will, nevertheless, I hope, suggest why I regard the change rather than the continuity as significant for an understanding of the contemporary religious situation in this country.

First, there is the evidence that church membership has shown a sharp rise in recent decades. After making all necessary qualifications, Mr. Lipset recognizes this. He cites the study by Michael Argyle, which reaches the conclusion that (for Americans thirteen years of age and over) "reported church membership . . . had dropped from 55 per cent in 1906 to 51 per cent in 1940, but . . . had then sharply increased in the succeeding war and postwar decade to 64 per cent in 1950." [Italics mine.] That the increase has continued through the next decade can hardly be doubted. "It is apparent," concludes Benson Landis, editor of the *Yearbook of American Churches: Edition for 1959* (New York: National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1958), "that the gains [in church membership] officially reported were at a more rapid rate from 1940 on than during the preceding two decades" (p. 293). There is no analogous comparative material for religious identification (which is very different from actual church membership, and embraces a considerably larger segment of the population), but all indications point in the same direction. In both areas, there would seem to have taken place a sharp rise during the past twenty years as compared with the earlier decades of this century.

The same apparently holds true for church attendance. According to the Gallup polls, church attendance has been rising fairly steadily in the past fifteen years (cf. *Yearbook of American Churches: Edition for 1959*, p. 297). Mr. Lipset notes the drop reported in 1950, but this drop hardly marked a reversal of trend; on January 1, 1956, the Gallup organization made public a report well summarized in the caption: "Year 1955 Sets an All-Time High in Church Attendance." Data as to other aspects of religious life could be cited, largely to the same effect. An upswing in religion is definitely under way, and has been under way for some twenty years.

Second, Mr. Lipset, quite rightly, gives special attention to the "religious feelings of young people" (I myself do not think that "religious feelings" is a particular-

ly happy or useful concept), and finds, if anything, a decline since 1913. His criterion is "belief in God," but unfortunately this is precisely the criterion that cannot gauge the interest in religion manifested by the contemporary young man or woman on a college campus. In 1913, there were probably a higher percentage of students who felt assured that they "believed in God," but this very pious assurance often meant that religion was taken for granted, and was not something with which one need be at all preoccupied, certainly not intellectually. Today, the situation is very different: the rising generation may not be so self-assured about its "belief in God," but it takes religion far more seriously and is far more preoccupied with religious questions both intellectually and existentially. One need but to read the brochure, *Religion at Harvard: A Harvard Student Council Committee Report* (Cambridge, 1957), to see the new and intense quality of the contemporary concern about religion among large sections of the student youth on the campuses, and among the younger faculty members as well.

Toward the end of 1955, the Rev. James L. Stoner, director of the University Christian Mission of the National Council of Churches, reported on an extensive survey he had made of American college campuses. Here are some excerpts from a summary of his report published in *The New York Times* for October 22, 1955:

There is widespread and deep interest in religion among college and university undergraduates today. This is in marked contrast to twenty years ago. Educational and religious leaders report a surge of interest in religion among students in recent years, and to an extent among faculty members. . . . In short, religion has become "intellectually respectable." Twenty years ago, except for small church colleges and groups of "Christians" on the campuses of other institutions, undergraduates frequently ignored religion or ridiculed it. A college graduate of the Nineteen Thirties summed up his experience this way: "None of us would be found dead taking religion seriously. . . . [Today] live interest and searching in religion" are to be found. . . .

When the Rev. Sidney Lovett became chaplain at Yale in 1932, there was just one solitary course in religion for undergraduates at that university, and three students in that course. When he retired from that course in 1954, it had an enrollment of more than 300. In 1958, one out of every six Yale undergraduates was taking a course in religion (none of these courses were required). Perhaps fewer

students "believed in God" at Yale than in 1913 (though that is doubtful), but it is surely obvious that something very like an upsurge in religious interest and concern has taken place on the campus within the past two decades.

Particularly revealing is the study made by Irving E. Bender ("Changes in Religious Interest: A Retest after 15 Years," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, July 1958) of 112 Dartmouth men at the time they were seniors in 1940 and fifteen years later in 1956. Mr. Bender found a "highly significant increase" in religious value scores (employing the Allport-Vernon Study of Values) in this fifteen-year interval. Moreover, Dartmouth seniors in 1956 showed the same higher "religious value scores" in comparison with their counterparts of a decade and a half back. And furthermore, Mr. Bender found the "turn in the religious direction" to be peculiarly "theological." The religious "revival" on the college campus is perhaps very different in quality from that prevalent in the suburban community, but it is just as undeniable.

Third, another type of evidence might prove illuminating, and that is the evidence indicating the enhanced standing of churches and religion among the American people in recent decades. According to surveys conducted by Elmo Roper, in answering the question, "Which one of these groups do you feel is doing the most good for the country at the present time?", Americans placed religious leaders third, after government leaders and business leaders, in 1942, but first in 1947. In the former year (1942), 17.5 per cent thought religious leaders were "doing the most good," as against 27.7 per cent who put more trust in government leaders, and 18.7 per cent in business leaders (6.2 per cent trusted most in labor leaders and another 6.2 in Congress). Five years later, however, in 1947, 32.6 per cent of the people chose religious leaders as those who were "doing the most good," 18.8 per cent chose business leaders, 15.4 per cent chose government leaders, 10.6 per cent chose labor leaders, and 6.7 per cent chose Congress. Was this change merely a fluctuation, or has the trend continued? A similar survey, conducted by Mr. Roper a decade later, in 1957, found that the proportion of the American people who picked religious leaders as the group "doing the most good," and most to be trusted had reached 46 per cent. "No other group --whether government, Congressional, business, or labor--came anywhere near matching the prestige and pulling power of the men who are the ministers of God." (Statistics and quotation appear in the following articles by Elmo Roper: "What People Are Thinking," *New York Herald Tribune*, July 1, 1947; "NBC Newsweek Documentaries," December 27, 1953; *The Public Pulse*, December 21, 1957). In fact, clergymen "outmatched" all the rest put together! Whatever else may be the case,

it cannot be doubted that Americans today feel more "religious" than they have felt for decades. Here, too, a definite "revival" of religion is to be noted.

Fourth, but what kind of religiousness, or rather pro-religiousness, is it? It is a religiousness far advanced in secularization, but in secularization of a very special kind. Mr. Lipset is quite right in emphasizing the comparatively secularized character of American religion through much of the nineteenth century, but I do not think he notes sufficiently both the degree and the kind of the contemporary secularization of religion. As for the former, it is sufficient to repeat the point I have often made, that with us the process of the secularization of religion has gone so far that our secularized religion is becoming virtually indistinguishable from the pro-religious secularism which characterizes the attitude of today's "unbelievers," now that the old-time militant "atheist" or "agnostic" of the Ingersoll-Darrow type has become virtually obsolete. This is recognized by most observers of contemporary religion, above all by those who are theologically oriented.

But the kind of secularization that informs contemporary religion is even more interesting. It is a kind of secularization that converts Judaism and Christianity into "culture religions" of the American way of life. For Protestantism, this process began sometime toward the end of the last century.

During the second half of the nineteenth century Sidney E. Mead⁷ notes, there occurred a virtual identification of the outlook of . . . denominational Protestantism with Americanism or the "American way of life." . . . The United States, in effect, had two religions, or at least two different forms of the same religion, and . . . the prevailing Protestant ideology represented a syncretistic mingling of the two. The first was the religion of the denominations. . . . The second was the religion of the democratic society and nation. ("American Protestantism Since the Civil War. From Denominationalism to Americanism," *Journal of Religion*, January 1956.)

This process of secularization by way of syncretistic fusion had reached an advanced stage toward the beginning of this century--but only for Protestantism. Judaism and Catholicism, so long as they remained foreign, and therefore, peripheral, were little affected by this trend. As they became American, however, they too fell under the same influences, and began to exhibit the same characteristic syncre-

tism. What took place, and not in this respect alone, was the "Protestantization" of the non-Protestant religions of America through the very process of their becoming American. It is a process in the course of which America has been, or rather is being transformed from a Protestant nation into a three-religion country. The secularization of religion in America is not new, but this kind of secularization is something new, and significantly new.

These paragraphs will suffice, I think, to show why and to what degree I differ with Mr. Lipset's analysis. Let me emphasize that I am not really controverting what Mr. Lipset says, or at least not controverting it all along the line. I agree with him that both the religiousness of Americans, and the secularization of their religion, are of long standing. I agree with him, too, that from a certain point of view it is the "basic continuities" rather than the changes in American religion that are "most striking." All I would add--and I think this is a most important addition --is that in the perspective of the past six decades of this century, and for the purposes of understanding what is most perplexing in the contemporary religious situation, it is the change rather than the continuity that should be focused. And this "change" may fairly be described as an upsurge in religiousness, even a "revival of religion," if both terms are properly qualified, and conflicting trends within the over-all movement carefully distinguished and defined. Mr. Lipset asks: "What religious revival?" I should answer: The one (if but one it is) that is going on all around us, and which can be missed only if one adopts a point of vantage so remote that all changes are indeed flat-out into continuities.

SOCIAL INTERACTION OF THREE DENOMINATIONS IN THE INNER CITY A 1959 Doctoral Dissertation, (Drew)

Moses N. DeLaney
Shaw University

Three hypotheses, deduced from a survey of related literature on the interaction between Protestant churches and their social environment in the inner city, were tested in a pilot study in Newark, New Jersey, for the period 1900-1958. Hypothesis A states the necessity of adaptation of a Protestant church in order to survive in this area of radical social changes in an expanding industrialized metropolitan

American community. Hypothesis B reveals seven patterns of behavior of churches in the inner city. They range from the assimilation of affiliable elements in the population, or maintaining the original character of the church by support of a few generous givers or endowment, to cooperation with public welfare agencies in a ministry to the needy, or the formation of a team ministry to meet diverse and increased service needs of the area. Hypothesis C states ten traits of an effective ministry of the church to the inner city. They range from adaptability to successive change, to Christian unity among its members.

An intensive study of the guiding principles that entered into the decision of six churches to remain in the inner city or to relocate beyond it and the concomitant consequences of the decision were the focal points of the pilot study. The inquiry was cast against the background of radical social changes and trends in the number of churches of the three denominations in the inner city. The pastors named thirty-four informants of whom seventy-one per cent were participants in the decision-making process. Their insights were tested against statistical lifelines and the literature on each church.

Definition of Newark's Inner City

As in numerous other American cities, Newark's inner city flanks the downtown business district. The geography of the inner city was determined by the selection of a minimum of three out of four recognized inner city traits. From the 1950 United States census tract data the following traits were used: (1) below average contract monthly rentals of less than \$38.25, the average for the city; (2) dwelling units having 20 per cent or more with "no private bath" or "dilapidated"; (3) crowding of dwellings with 1.51 persons or more per room; and (4) below median school years completed by persons 25 years old and over, that is, below 8.7, the median for the city. Thirty contiguous tracts with all four traits and ten with three traits constituted Newark's inner city in a contiguous relationship to the downtown business district.

Land-use changes, condition of housing, and population succession were adopted as indices of radical social changes in this geographic area. Hypothesis A was validated for each index. First, although land-use patterns were well established in the inner city prior to 1900, they assumed acute significance since then because the city lacked space for expansion. There was a serious intermingling of varied land-use practices which was augmented by the lack of effective zoning ordinances. Business, industry, apartment houses, rooming houses, and public buildings encroached upon

former brownstone, fashionable residential neighborhoods. High-class residences were demolished or converted to other uses.

Second, a broad band of obsolete dwellings was found running through the center of the city west of the downtown district. A smaller number was also found eastward. The census tracts involved formed a contiguous relationship to other tracts with 20 per cent or more substandard dwellings. Third, population succession had made the inner city heterogeneous prior to 1900. Lusk's map showed areas in which diverse ethnic groups predominated in 1911. By superimposing these areas upon a census tract map, the centrifugal movement of Germans, Italians, and Jews was demonstrated. Changes in the ethnic character of occupants by census tracts were shown for the decade 1940-1950. As elements from each group moved outward to the peripheries and suburbs, replacement was made by Portuguese, Spaniards, Poles, native whites, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. Negroes only continued to increase in the inner city during the decade. In some tracts there was almost complete replacement of former occupants by Negroes.

The six selected churches for case history study were integrally involved in these areas of radical social changes. The Third Presbyterian Church relocated from Tract 81 with obsolete dwellings. Mount Pleasant Baptist Church had relocated two times toward the periphery of the city away from urban blight. Of the four churches that remained in the inner city, three were located in tracts with a predominance of obsolete dwellings, namely, the House of Prayer (Episcopal), Tract 86; Christ Episcopal Church, Tract 79; and the Second Presbyterian Church, Tract 85. Moreover, the Walnut Street Baptist Church, Tract 70, was in close proximity to three tracts with a predominance of obsolete dwellings. The other indices of radical social changes also impinged directly or indirectly upon all six churches. In this setting the interaction between the churches and this inner city environment was studied intensively.

Denominational Trends, 1900-1958

Three major Protestant denominations of diverse polity were selected for the pilot study. The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (since then merged into the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America) was selected because the governing authority on major issues rests in a local presbytery. The Baptist churches of the New Jersey Baptist Convention were chosen because authority is vested in the local congregation. Further, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America was selected because authority rests in a hierarchy in which

bishops are the chief pastors. From this diversity of church polity a comparison was made of the manner in which diverse churches adapted to radical social changes.

The churches of the three denominations were affected significantly by the radical social changes in the inner city. All of the churches, missions, centers, and chapels of the three denominations that existed between 1900 and 1958 were ascertained from the minutes and annual reports of the respective denominations. These were shown graphically for the city with focus upon those which were or had been located in the inner city. For the Presbyterians there were 22 organized churches, chapels, and centers in the inner city during the period of study. In 1958 only seven churches remained or approximately 26 per cent of the total. Of these, six churches dissolved; one merged; and four relocated beyond the inner city. Furthermore, two centers and one chapel were dissolved, while another chapel merged with a church. Since 1900 for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the inner city, three out of seven churches or approximately 43 per cent were declared extinct. Further, for the Baptists, four out of ten churches and missions were closed. Two churches were relocated and one merged with another Baptist church beyond the inner city. Only three remained in the inner city in 1958. The number of churches of Caucasian background for each denomination was reduced further by one Negro congregation in each. This general decline in the number of churches for the three denominations indicated a reciprocal relationship between the churches and the character of the opportunities for service in the inner city. These findings were supported by previous research which revealed that the inner city is a "hazardous environment" for Protestant church work.

Case Histories of Six Churches

Two churches from each of the three denominations were selected for case history study of social interaction. They were founded prior to 1900 and were of Caucasian background. Two types of social phenomena were illustrated, namely churches that relocated beyond the inner city and churches that remained. The guiding principles and the concomitant consequences of the decision of each church to relocate or to remain were discovered by the use of the "focused interview" technique with selected informants. Two churches of diverse polity that relocated beyond the inner city were the Third Presbyterian Church, 1914, and the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church, 1928. Two churches of diverse polity that remained within the inner city were the Second Presbyterian Church and the Walnut Street Baptist Church. No Protestant Episcopal Church relocated beyond the inner city; therefore, two situated there were studied.

The Third Presbyterian Church and the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church illustrated the complexity of guiding principles that entered into the decision to relocate beyond the inner city. A marked degree of similarity appeared in the guiding principles of the two churches to relocate. They are as follows: (1) radical social changes in the neighborhood; (2) availability of financial resources; (3) needed repairs on the old edifices; and (4) significant losses in membership. Each church also had some distinctive considerations. For the Third Church they were: (1) close proximity to six other Presbyterian churches; (2) change in mode of transportation; and (3) "the extension of the Kingdom." Further, for Mount Pleasant Baptist Church they were: (1) "a good offer" for its old property; (2) need for a smaller church edifice; (3) desire for more frontage; (4) desire for a more attractive edifice; and (5) the concurrent liquidation of a greatly reduced mortgage on the old edifice.

Likewise the concomitant consequences of the decision to relocate showed pronounced similarity in several aspects, namely, (1) persistence of social change in the new neighborhood; (2) further depletion of membership by death and the second outmovement of adherents; (3) some adverse evaluation of the new site of each church; (4) some untoward financial developments; (5) engulfment by a predominance of Roman Catholics in the new neighborhood; and (6) the inclusion of newcomers of diverse ethnic background in their membership. Such were directly related to church polity for the Mount Pleasant Church. First, the congregation adopted an open-membership policy. Admission to membership through belief in the Lord Jesus Christ was given pre-eminence. The traditional policy of "baptism by immersion" was modified. Second, women were serving on the official board in 1958.

The Third Presbyterian Church showed the following dissimilar concomitant consequences that were related to church polity: (1) although unsuccessful, the experiment with the collegiate system of churches was permitted under church law; (2) overchurching occurred in the new location; (3) ecclesiastical jealousy persisted in the new area; (4) renewed efforts in denominational strategy were initiated; (5) expenditures for missions were increased; (6) financial resources were depleted; (7) the First Presbyterian Church assumed responsibility for the downtown mission; (8) the old burial ground was sold; and (9) restricted uses of income from endowment were imposed by the Presbytery.

Four churches demonstrated the confluence of guiding principles that entered into the decision to remain on historic inner city sites. The churches were as follows: The Second Presbyterian Church (1810), the Walnut Street Baptist

Church (1875), Christ Episcopal Church (1849), and the House of Prayer (Episcopal) (1851). Five common guiding principles were expressed or implied for the four churches. They were as follows: (1) loyalty of adherents; (2) a sense of mission to the inner city; (3) success in securing the type of leadership deemed essential to the task; (4) security of church properties; and (5) an opportunity to bring into use dormant resources to serve the inner city.

Some guiding principles were distinctive for particular churches. The Second Presbyterian Church, as an offspring of the First Church, expressed to some extent a sense of belonging on its site. Dormant financial resources were put to use in the development of a seven-day-week program to meet the changed needs of its environment. The Walnut Street Baptist Church, however, remained on its site because of the lack of financial resources with which to relocate. Besides, there was no place to relocate in view of the wide dispersal of its consanguine membership of Germanic background. In 1958 it was the only Baptist Church of Caucasian background in the Ironbound section.

The two Protestant Episcopal churches also had distinctive guiding principles that entered into the decision to remain. Christ Church was the only one of this denomination in the Ironbound. Its continuity was made possible by mission subsidy from the Diocese of Newark. For the House of Prayer outstanding historic associations and the uniqueness of the Sacraments were distinctive considerations in the decision to remain.

The concomitant consequences of the decision to remain for the Second Presbyterian Church and the Walnut Street Baptist Church showed similarity on several points, *viz.*, (1) an open-door membership policy; (2) change in the general socio-economic character of the membership; (3) increased missionary outreach in the neighborhood and in world missions; and (4) an expanded program to include more week-day activities. Some distinctive concomitant consequences for the Walnut Street Baptist Church were an evangelical emphasis, a strong religious emphasis in all activities, and the adoption of an open Communion service.

The Second Presbyterian Church illustrated, perhaps in a more pronounced manner, distinctive concomitant consequences of the decision to remain on its inner city site. The membership showed phenomenal increase. A parish house was constructed to serve the changed needs of its social environment. In spite of the most disastrous church fire in the history of Newark, the congregation rebuilt on the same site. The new edifice won the award as the most artistic building in the inner city. Through the dynamic leadership

of one minister for about twenty-five years, Second Church made itself felt effectively in civic and political affairs of Newark and the state. Finally, the current financial crisis, resulting from reduced income out of endowment, inspired members to give more generously.

Implications and Problems for Further Study

From the preceding analyses certain implications became evident. Moreover, by comparison of findings in denominational trends and the six case histories of churches, the three hypotheses were validated to a large extent in Newark's inner city. The concept of a designated parish was a significant factor in the pattern of interaction for the Protestant Episcopal Church. Other forms of interaction were assumed in lieu of relocation beyond the inner city. Second, the heterogeneous ethnic and racial character of former homogeneous churches was significant. Denominational leaders are thereby alerted to face squarely with a Christian strategy the implications of radical social changes, the need for a special type of trained leadership for inner city churches, the difficulty of the principle of voluntary support, and the spread of radical social changes in a metropolitan community.

The following problems for further study were uncovered by this investigation: (1) factors of personal leadership, the power structure, and class orientation of the local church in the decision-making process; (2) the theological concept of the church in relationship to the decision to relocate; (3) the extent of participation of church adherents in the encroachment of business, apartments, and rooming houses upon single-family residential areas; (4) the extensiveness of the transferral of church properties to other ethnic and racial groups and the concomitant effects upon recipients; (5) the impact of urban renewal projects upon Protestant churches; and (6) a re-evaluation of criteria of effectiveness of the ministry of Protestant churches to the inner city.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS AND AMERICAN FUNDAMENTALISM A 1959 Doctoral Dissertation (Chicago)

Everett L. Perry
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

The problem was to describe the rise and development of American Fundamentalism in its social setting in terms of such sociological concepts that the influence of socio-economic factors on its growth, decline, persistence, characteristics, and both institutional and ecological patterns may be clarified.

Fundamentalism Defined

For purposes of this thesis fundamentalism was considered to be a reactionary tendency in religion which identifies as fundamental to the Christian faith some particular doctrine or doctrines which were, or were purported to have been, held by Christians of a previous generation. Strong emotional resistance is shown to any tendency to bring such doctrines into question or to indicate that they belong, not to the whole history of the Christian church, but mainly to the recent past.

In this sense fundamentalism is not identical with conservatism, which may hold to similar doctrines but without an attitude of aggressiveness and awareness of threat. Fundamentalism can be studied through local churches, sects, intra-denominational conflicts, evangelistic campaigns, and national organizations but is not completely identical with any of them. Rather, it is found in varying degrees and in varying forms in these several concrete manifestations of the tendency.

Historically, fundamentalism had its roots in the Bible and missionary conferences of the late 19th century, and received its formulation in the publication of *The Fundamentals* in 1909 and following. The public became particularly aware of it in the 1920's through the Scopes trial and other efforts to eradicate evolution from public school teaching, and as a result of conflicts within major denominations. After this it received little attention until the minor schisms of the later 1930's and the tendencies toward national integration in organizations such as the National Association of Evangelicals and the American Council of Christian Churches during World War II and thereafter.

Although historical fundamentalism is the main focus,

the thesis also takes into consideration the marginal fundamentalistic tendencies found in the pentecostal and holiness sects, the "cult of reassurance," economic libertarianism, resistance to social action programs of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and of denominations, and the use of religion in support of particular patterns of race relations. Similarities to nationalistic, nativistic, and language revivals are noted.

Materials and Methods Utilized

Materials used included histories of fundamentalism and of Protestantism in general, *Moody Monthly* and its predecessor publications from 1920 to 1955, the weekly news bulletin of Moody Memorial Church in Chicago, publications of Moody Bible Institute and other Bible institutes, biographies and writings of various key fundamentalist leaders, publications of the National Association of Evangelicals, the American Council of Christian Churches, and the Independent Fundamental Churches of America, literature of the National Association of Manufacturers, a variety of local community studies, both of secular sociologists and of the Department of Research and Survey of the Chicago Theological Seminary, the United States Census, and community area data for the city of Chicago originally secured from the Census Bureau and from other statistical sources.

In addition to these formal literary sources the author depended heavily upon materials personally gathered by participant observation in the Fundamental Young People's Fellowship of Chicago and in the Woodlawn Baptist Church of Chicago, from attendance at numerous church services, and from personal interview of a wide variety of pastors, denominational leaders, institute and seminary representatives, and lay persons. Part of these data had already been drawn together in a survey of "Independent Churches of Chicago" made by the author in 1945.

The methods used were those most appropriate to the materials being handled. The study depends upon the historical, the social type, the ecological, the case study, and, to a minor degree, the statistical. There is much more dependence upon non-statistical methods which seek to arrive at meanings and interrelationships than on quantification. Converging lines of evidence from the variety of materials and methods provide a more convincing body of data in support of the thesis than does any one line of the investigation, by itself.

Five Significant Findings

It was concluded that socio-economic factors have been

of significant importance for the rise and development of American fundamentalism. However, the relationship is not that of a simple determinism of religion by the economic sphere, but is found within characteristics of the life-situation of people, which makes fundamentalism relevant to the meeting of social and religious needs. Needs for security and for individual self-determination are key points of relevance. In this perspective fundamentalism is largely a natural phenomenon, intimately related to the religious needs of mankind as they exist within a particular cultural context. A key phrase is that "religious experience is always also some other kind of experience." In contemporary American society human need thus becomes the intermediary between economic factors, on the one hand, and the form of religion, on the other.

The dissertation points out five distinct types of role played by socio-economic factors in the rise and development of fundamentalism in the northern industrial metropolis:

First, socio-economic factors were of importance as involved in the underlying dynamic of change from a frontier to an urban industrial society, which made fundamentalism a relevant religious type. Economic factors are found in the motives for migration, and in the selectivity of migrants. Much of the fundamentalist pattern was created in the simple relatively unorganized frontier environment. The change from pastoral agricultural frontier society to an urban industrial society was based upon a change in the economy. The shift to an urban industrial society involved social unrest, social differentiation including differences in degree of participation in cultural heritage, in acceptance of new ideas, and in status rank, and a growing socio-economic complexity in which the individualistic ethic was no longer adequate, and in which individual self-determination was often uncertain.

Second, socio-economic factors are of importance in the determination of educational level, of sub-culture variations, of status-rank and of patterns of social participation, which in turn condition religious needs. The emphasis of fundamentalism on the in-group, the opportunities for participation, the simplicity and authoritarianism of its message with concrete objectification of the faith and provision for non-economic status, frequent use of oral and visual symbols, its folk-tune hymnody, and personal ethic help meet the need for security and recognition of some of the economically and socially disinherited. Numerous studies indicate that fundamentalism draws significantly from people of lower socio-economic status. An important reason why some people of wealth adhere to fundamentalism is that

their mobility up the economic scale is not matched by a concomitant mobility up the cultural scale, thus dislocating the usual relationship between wealth and level of education.

Third, socio-economic factors have been involved in development of the framework within which vertical mobility of denominations, and of their leadership and participants, occurs, and which in some instances results in fundamentalist growth, and in some instances decline. Some fundamentalist sects tend to experience rapid vertical mobility, thus weakening fundamentalism. In other instances, members detached from small sects such as the Mennonites and the Evangelical Free churches tend to gravitate toward fundamentalism, thus providing it support. Fundamentalism frees its leaders to some degree from professional training requirements, providing schools in which academic and economic requirements are lower than in regular denominational seminars. In small fundamentalist sects the opportunities for vertical mobility of clergy are quite limited, involving possibilities of attempting to develop a large institution, extending influence toward development of another rudimentary denomination, or acceptance of denominational routes and requirements. Denominational churches of small membership and budgets provide natural opportunity for penetration of inadequately trained leadership which frequently is fundamentalist in character.

Fourth, the natural social-psychological liaison of economic conservatism and the fundamentalist ethic has provided an important support for fundamentalism beyond its specific religious adherents. Both major strands of economic conservatism--that which arises from the desire to maintain an attained economic advantage, and that which resists change on the basis of tradition, despite lack of economic advantage--are congenial to the fundamentalist ethic, which stresses individual morality apart from political action. The basis of mutual psychological support of fundamentalism and economic conservatism may be inferred from the observed tendencies of fundamentalism to teach economic conservatism, and the conscious efforts of businessmen to secure religion's support of economic conservatism. Striking parallels between fundamentalism and economic conservatism, such as dependence upon old and simple principles, and upon polar opposites rather than discussion of variations, lend credence to a conclusion that the two have common psychological roots. Similarities between these phenomena and current tendencies in Protestantism, such as the "cult of reassurance," and in the economic field, such as economic libertarianism, provide additional evidence of the close relationship between fundamentalism and economic conservatism.

Fifth, socio-economic factors condition community structure and the ecological pattern of the metropolis, with an important bearing on the distribution, relative numerical success, and institutional characteristics of fundamentalism within the metropolitan area and the region. Fundamentalism tends to be excluded from the areas of highest socio-economic privilege, and tends to penetrate most easily urban areas of least privilege, given similar degree of congeniality to Protestantism. Variations in the urban ecological pattern tend to modify the institutional expression of fundamentalism into a variety of types, ranging from the rescue mission, through the gospel tabernacle and gospel center to the Bible church. There is also a continuum extending from the "cathedral" or downtown church to the neighborhood church. The most extreme expressions of fundamentalism tend to be found in the most disorganized and depressed areas of the city, and the least extreme in the more stable and advantaged residential areas. The occurrence of fundamentalism correlates with areas of high physical mobility. Mobility, which has an important socio-economic basis, provides new recruits for fundamentalism, sometimes facilitating the change in orientation of particular churches. Whole churches are sometimes brought to the city by migration, thereby strengthening fundamentalism. Other churches are depleted by out-migration of membership, thereby becoming remnants which turn to fundamentalism as a hope for survival. Regional patterns of fundamentalism tend to be an expansion of the metropolitan pattern, in which the spheres of influence of individuals and institutions develop in relationship to the varying characteristics of regions.

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HARLAN PAUL DOUGLASS: PIONEER
RESEARCHER IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

Part II

Edmund deS. Brunner
Columbia University

The largest body of research for which Paul Douglass was responsible dealt with the church in the city. This work fell into two periods. First was that at the Institute of Social and Religious Research, which ended when he began his investigations into religious tolerance, comity, and co-operation, which I have already discussed. The second period came a decade later when, after his service as editor of *Christendom*, he turned again to research and undertook a whole series of service or programizing studies under the auspices of the Federal, now the National Council of Churches. This latter group of studies also had as a major objective the finding of means and ways for effecting cooperation. The studies were made on invitation of the church

authorities in the cities studied and enjoyed their cooperation. This in itself was a significant development and I suspect that Douglass' own previous studies were one, though of course only one, of the influences leading to these surveys.

Descriptive Studies

The initial Institute studies concerned the church situation in St. Louis as representative of the larger cities of the United States, and in Springfield, Massachusetts, as representative of the considerable group of cities which had passed the 100,000 mark in population but had not grown into large metropolitan centers. These studies majored on the church as an institution. Environmental and other social factors were not neglected but the major focus was on church membership and attendance, program, financing, facilities, educational activities, and the ministers, their training, and qualifications.

These studies were therefore almost wholly descriptive and what interpretations there were focused on the meaning of the facts for churches as institutions. It has become the fashion in recent years, with the growing sophistication of social research methodology, to regard descriptive studies as of little significance save from the point of view of their service to program building in local situations. Granted that this is currently their major utility, two comments need to be made, indeed emphasized, with respect to the earlier studies in more than one branch of sociology. (1) As a result of the early descriptive studies a sufficient body of repetitive results were accumulated to serve as a respectable body of knowledge, a foundation on which to build. (2) The first step in the development of any science is description. Only as observed phenomena are carefully described can more penetrating analyses and studies become possible (cf. Brunner, *The Growth of a Science: A Half Century of Rural Sociological Research in the United States*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957). Douglass himself put the matter this way in the introduction to his *The Church in The Changing City* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927), "Comparison follows description in order to get explanation, i.e., interpretation." Many of the hypotheses for later investigations grow out of the social phenomena recorded in the descriptive surveys. This is clearly the case with Douglass' work. The hypotheses on which his subsequent studies of the urban situation are based flowed directly out of the Springfield and St. Louis surveys.

This becomes eminently clear in his *One Thousand City Churches* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926). This work and its companion volume of case studies, *The Church in the*

Changing City, represent in my opinion Douglass' greatest contribution to urban Protestantism. I shall therefore discuss it in some detail.

Sampling Problems

The raw material for this study was drawn from the two city surveys already mentioned, from some usable studies inherited from the Interchurch World Movement, and from a considerable amount of field work. Stemming from these various sources there was not complete comparability but almost 40 important items on churches were identical in all sources. Community data were available or procurable. On the surface the sample was adequate in terms of the total number of churches in cities of the sizes included, but Douglass was very conscious of the fact that it could be a skewed sample, since all the churches of St. Louis and Springfield were included but the rest of the 1,044 came from two samples, only one of which, that covered by his own field work, had been selected with an eye to its representativeness. Even here there was the possibility that the denominational executives nominating the churches selected would be tempted to suggest better than average churches. Douglass discussed these limitations frankly. He was fully cognizant of the theory of sampling insofar as it had been developed 30 years ago. Hence at times he used only his field work sample, about one-third of the total, but when all samples showed similar results on specific items, he gladly accepted the additional validity this gave his results.

He was also conscious of the difference between the average and the range from which it was determined, of the difference between normal distribution and variety. Hence his use of case studies of churches at all points along the range which are contained in his *The Church in the Changing City*.

The study was developed in close cooperation with city-church executives. They were convinced that urban churches were environmentally conditioned and that recognizable patterns existed in tiers as one followed any sector of a city from the residentially deteriorating downtown to the flourishing and socially advantaged suburbs. Stated in this form, what was essentially an official hypothesis on which national mission board policy was being based was not sustained by the data. To this I shall return later.

Defining a Church

In this study it became immediately necessary to define the church as an institution. Did the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s qualify? Did some emotionally oriented, loosely organized

sect meeting in a vacant store qualify? Douglass, facing such questions and in the light of his prior studies, for the first time arrived at a sociological definition of the church as an institution, which can be summarized as follows: (1) It is a definable group of Christian people with membership lists or some type of device marking permanent adherence; (2) it is a fellowship for religious worship and instruction; (3) it has a cross-section of humanity in terms of all age and sex groups; and (4) it has a recognized relationship with a body of churches, i.e., a denominational affiliation.

Douglass then advanced the following basic hypotheses: (1) There is a consistent pattern of behavior among city churches according to recognizable types and including the vast majority of all churches; (2) the city church is in a continuous process of evolution, resulting in progressive adaptations to the changing city; (3) the particular steps of the evolutionary process each have specific meanings: the several types of city churches reflect stages in the process of adaptation; (4) the city church itself has evolved from the rural church; (5) some denominational groups reflect more than others transplanted rural ideals and values: these rural values have become associated with the essence of what a church is; (6) the extreme mobility of city churches moving from downtown to the further limits of the city or even to the suburbs is a part of the struggle of a church to maintain its rural character; and (7) the city inevitably modifies the church, but slowly because of the conservatism of religious institutions.

In the interests of brevity I have taken some liberties with Douglass' own working of these hypotheses. For the same reason I shall not dwell on the data he assembled with respect to each. His own summary can be found in the Institute's final publication, intellectually and sociologically Douglass' best work, *The Protestant Church as a Social Institution* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935), a volume in which I was a very junior author, sharing only in its planning and writing only the rural portions. Suffice it to say that these seven hypotheses were sustained by the research, though in varying degrees. They can therefore be taken as research-tested conclusions, facts that Douglass would say are in the nature of social laws. The variations, when significant, were explicable in terms of special situations of clearly exceptional character.

Types of Churches

The types of city churches Douglass finally arrived at were determined on the basis of functions, thus anticipating one of the popular theoretical approaches of the current so-

ciological scene. These types he described in somewhat different terms in the 1940's than in the volume under discussion, but in essence they remained the structural framework of all his later urban research. Disregarding the 13 sub-types Douglass identified, I am giving his five major ones in descending order of frequency.

There was first of all the *typically developed* or *slightly adapted* church. This was and is the most numerous. With the minister as the sole professional employee of the institution this type duplicates the essential spirit and pattern of the rural church, slightly expanded as to program in a minimum adaptation to the city, but limited in that adaptation by being able to have only one full-time worker--the minister.

Second, there was and is the *underdeveloped, unadapted*, or *fragmentary* church. It fails to do what most churches do. It is marked by a narrow tradition and frequently, because of an untoward environment, a narrowing program. It is usually marked by extreme doctrinal dogmatism and by institutional austerity.

Third, there is the *intensively developed* or *internally adapted* church. This type has begun to add cultural, social, or recreational activities and in many cases to employ one or two additional staff members, especially directors of religious education in charge of the program for youth.

Fourth, there is the *socially adapted* church. Like the other types, it maintains the traditional activities of all churches, typified in services of preaching and worship and the Sunday school, but it has added the many agencies of social ministry. It serves especially handicapped population groups and what it adds to the core program is determined by the needs of such groups. These churches had large staffs.

Finally, there are the *widely variant* or *erratic* churches characterized by one or two unusual adaptations to special situations.

Two-thirds of all the churches Douglass studied fall into the first or second category, the slightly adapted being about twice as numerous as the underdeveloped. These latter have only four or less regular activities in their program, the slightly adapted have from five to eight. In contrast, the socially adapted ran to a maximum of 73 but averaged in the 20's.

The most significant finding of the study from the point of view of then current denominational policy was that

all of these types were found in all sectors of cities. There were socially adapted churches in the suburbs and the slums and elsewhere between these extremes. In all types, their ecclesiastical neighbors were underdeveloped or erratic or typically developed churches. The study demolished the stereotype of "the downtown church" as an unvarying type.

Compactness of Parishes

Douglass also showed that, though in varying degree, all of these types can be categorized by the degree of compactness of the parish, measured by the proportion of the membership living within a mile of the church building, and by the degree of balance in the distribution of this membership, measured by the proportions living in quadrants of a circle of which the edifice was the center. The former measurement resulted in what Douglass called compact, medium, scattered, and very scattered parishes. The latter, or quadrant, measurement results in balanced, unbalanced, or very unbalanced parishes. All five of the main types he described can be ranked according to the degree of both compactness and balance. When this is done, some slight and a few fairly significant affinities between the two sets of categories were observed, but none so significant as to govern the main types used. Those fairly significant do help explain variations among the types, particularly the 13 subtypes I have not catalogued.

Other variations from the norms strongly suggest that differences in resources determine the limit of adaptations a church can make and that differences in religious convictions influence the ways urban churches adapt and reflect adaptations to conditions.

One reason for the large number of subsidiary organizations in some of the socially adapted churches was the diverse social groups in their constituency. In polyglot areas, especially when the ethnic groups were of recent origin, it was not always possible to enlist them in activities with people of different cultural heritages. Varying social statuses also made for a multiplication of subsidiary organizations. Sometimes in such churches cliques arose which strove for power and added to the difficulties of administering such a large enterprise. In terms of Christian doctrine and theory such divisions are not defensible. Douglass, however, was a sociologist and indicated that the formation of face-to-face groups based on similarity of interests or consciousness of kind is a human trait which cannot be gainsaid in certain situations. The urban church, Douglass pointed out, must be aware that it has many constituency levels, from very active members to occasional attend-

ants at activities of subsidiary organizations, and that all of them are needed to make up a church. Moreover, in terms of the time investment of its constituents, the socially adapted church was found to do almost twice as well as the typical or modal church, 14.6 hours per month as against 7.5.

The variations among the various categories proved to be very great and clearly reflected the different conceptions of the function of a church. Thus among the modal churches attendance at Sunday services on average was more than half the week's total and ranged up to 92 per cent. On the other hand for the socially adapted church, week-day attendance averaged 73 per cent of the total.

This concept of adaptability has not caught on among sociologists. They appear to prefer social adaptation, a less dynamic term. Regardless of the term, Douglass was utilizing the concept of adaptability usefully almost a decade before Professor Mort began to apply it to education. Unlike the educators, Douglass recognized from the start that the adaptive process was a social process. In these days of far-flung technical assistance to underdeveloped countries the concept could have enlarged usefulness. Adaptability, I believe, should remain a meaningful term in the area of religion, for the problem that institutionalized religion has, of continuous adjustment to changing conditions, is a constant.

A Contribution to Theory

Of concern to the city church should be the large numbers of persons of Protestant heritage without a local church home. All surveys have shown surprising proportions of these, especially among the more mobile occupations. Social processes largely control religious adherence, and internal migration is one of the most important of these. Rural migrants to cities with a different cultural background, Douglass suggested, perhaps remain unchurched because they resist not the authority of God but rather "the paternalism of socially powerful classes institutionalized in the church." In rural America the agencies, institutions, and organized special interests are largely numerous regroupings of the same people. Urban people, on the other hand, are compelled to find a different principle of human association. Different sets of people are found in each major relationship and church affiliation is only one of many possibilities for social interaction. Thus we have a new principle of association, as well as a contribution to social theory, namely "the principle of association by selective affinity." Thus despite varying emphasis upon evangelism as such, much of the growth of urban churches was shown to come

through marriage, kinship, and social ties existing among groups, especially of younger people, thus illustrating selective affinity.

Internal migration in the United States, now periodically measured by the Census Bureau, proportionately has about doubled since Douglass developed this theory. The considerations he mentioned are therefore more important than ever. However, regardless of discouraging situations, and there are indeed many as Douglass noted, as of the early 1930's America was proportionally better churched than ever before in its history. This trend has continued. The generalization is more true in 1958 than it was a quarter of a century earlier.

It is not, however, the quantity of people professing a church connection that counts, so much as the quality of the spiritual ministry they are offered. Here Douglass pointed out one of Protestantism's serious failures. The proportion of churches staffed by trained ministers, college and seminary graduates, has steadily declined for over 150 years. There is no data to show if this situation has changed since he wrote. It would be possible, however, at relatively small cost, to cross-tabulate census data on the occupation of ministers with their education as of 1950, and at least determine, as Professor Wayland and I have done for teachers, the number and proportion with college training or better.

Be that as it may, in these days of rising education status of the whole population and of increased specialization, a relatively low education status for the ministry may be one explanation of any impairment of moral influence the church may have suffered.

The responsibility for this situation Douglass lays squarely on the doorstep of denominationalism. In simple truth, in the effort to sustain thousands of denominationally affiliated units, we have tens of thousands of churches too small in membership, too feeble in economic resources, to pay for the full-time services of a college and seminary trained minister. Here is one more facet of Douglass' intense interest in comity and cooperation.

Further Generalizations

In summary form, therefore, let me state a few further generalizations emerging from Douglass' urban research. He found that: (a) the larger the city, the larger the average size of churches and their Sunday schools; (b) the larger the city, the heavier the indebtedness per church, largely for buildings and facilities; (c) the larger the city, the

greater the number of erratic or fragmentary churches and of churches without an edifice of their own; (d) the larger the city, the greater the competitive strength of other faiths relative to Protestantism and the smaller the number of Protestant churches and membership relative both to the number of native-born in the population and the number of non-Protestant churches; (e) this last Douglass attributed to the failure of the Protestant churches to recruit rural migrants to the cities; (f) the greater the dispersion of the members of a church throughout a city, the less attention all but socially adapted churches pay to their immediate neighborhood and the greater the proportion of its members from the professional and managerial classes.

The Influence of the Environment

Sociologically, perhaps the major contribution Douglass made in these studies was in developing techniques whereby the profile of any given neighborhood could be constructed by relating it to the procurable social facts dealing with its structure and environment. As already noted, Douglass had shown that the assumptions as to the type of environmental influence upon local churches held by many denominational executives were largely fallacious. This did not mean that he discounted environmental influences. In 1929 he largely designed a study carried out by Ross Sanderson and Wilbur Hallenbeck and published in 1932, entitled *The Strategy of City Church Planning* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1932). This covered the progress of some 2,000 churches in 317 districts in 16 cities for a decade. This progress was related to eight factors of social change, such as population increase or decrease, economic status, transiency of the population, juvenile delinquency rate, health, etc. These factors and those relating to church progress were reduced to indices. They correlated highly for all types of churches, and the case studies of super- and sub-modal churches have much to contribute to churchmanship.

Since only the design of this study was Douglass', I will omit a discussion of the findings and pass to one other contribution illustrated both in the Buffalo city church study and in the San Francisco Bay Area church study which Douglass directed. In connection with the 1940 census, where it could secure local cooperation, the Census Bureau divided a city into small "tracts," and published data for each. Douglass was quick to see the value of relating tract data to the findings about the churches located in each tract. Without belaboring what must be obvious to this audience as to the value of this procedure, let me sum it up by a sentence from the San Francisco study which introduced one section of the report: "The rent map of the city is also

the delinquency map. The lower the average rent, the higher the delinquency rate."

This then is an outline, all too inadequate, of the research work of one to whom Protestantism owes much. What can be said, in conclusion, that can best characterize his career and its contributions? In the first place, Douglass was completely committed to the validity, utility, and value of studying the church as an institution by objective methods. Today this is accepted well beyond the circle of those in this audience. It may be difficult today to realize the strength of the resistance to this point of view Douglass and his colleagues encountered. We were, as he wrote, under "continuous suspicion." Those who held the church to be a supermundane entity were shocked that such a holy thing could be examined and compared with other institutions and social systems. To them it smacked of denying the very holiness that gave the church its unique mission in the world. Since piety and spirituality cannot be measured, nothing about an institution that nurtured these religious virtues should be appraised. The unique and personal relations between God and the individual can in no sense be circumscribed by any institution. The church, we were told, "can be identified by spiritual marks only."

Others, who to a greater or less degree admitted the mundane aspects of the church as a divine institution, were extremely sensitive that the Institute studies might exhibit the shortcomings of the church and its professional leaders in such a way as to harm the pursuit of its spiritual mission. At the other extreme were those so disillusioned by what they deemed to be the failure of the church that they had no good words for the Institute, lest it strengthen an institution they felt had better die.

To all this, Douglass and his colleagues arrived at a philosophy which proved sustaining. In a word, they held that, however the church was regarded in terms of doctrine, it was a social institution, that institutionalization was inevitable, admittedly dangerous, but manageable if understood. This understanding could come only through knowledge and knowledge only from rigorous, objective, scientific exploration of the facts. Moreover, to Douglass "the scientific method strengthens the conviction that the inner and outer aspects of religion are but two sides of a single whole." "Institutionalized religion," he said, "really symbolizes and in a sense measures the energy of the inner meanings for which the religious viewpoint contends." "The objective study of the church takes an essentially simple-minded attitude," he wrote in another place. "Convinced that all mature versions of religion must inevitably find institutional form, it accepts factual indices," but it does

not take these as final criteria. Social science is "accustomed to taking a critical attitude toward vast enterprises . . . to appraise the actual vigor of the social forces behind a traditional institution." (Vide *The Protestant Church as a Social Institution*, Chapter I and pp. 33 ff.) This is the conviction, nay the faith, that motivated Douglass in all his research work, a faith he was completely convinced furthered the acceptance of the religion and thus enhanced the power of the religion to which he gave unswerving loyalty.

Two other characteristics have been foreshadowed in the quotations given. One was Douglass' certainty that the methods of science could be productively applied to the social life of men. He recognized the vast unknown and the difficulties in the proper study of mankind but he held that even a small beginning toward the achievement of certitude was better than none and that the knowledge acquired bit by bit should be proclaimed and used without apology. By the same token he courted criticism. To him it was an essential ingredient of the life blood of social science.

The second characteristic was Douglass' conviction as to both the inevitability and the necessity of institutions and hence of their importance. Herein is one explanation of his willingness, at an age when it would have been legitimate to seek an easier life, to return to the arduous demands of field work in both rural and urban America in order to do what he could to strengthen the institutions of religion, the churches which were the custodians and visible expression of the high faith he cherished.

Finally, paramount in all Douglass' work was an overriding concern for religion at its best, for Christianity in its essence and purity and what it could do both for the lives of men and for society. In one of his later studies, that in Jersey City, after he had described the somewhat atypical pattern of the church locations and hence of attendant competition among them, he stated very simply his basic concern which, variously phrased, emerged again and again in all his studies in the 1940's. He wrote: "Each congregation has its own peculiar mission. Nevertheless are not the claims of the united church of Christ paramount?"

To him they were. He understood the historic lineages of our denominations, the cultural streams that entered into them. He recognized the power of these traditions institutionalized in denominations and their churches. He therefore accepted diversity of religious expression but above all that was the need of a war-stricken, sorely wounded world which called for unity in the essential task of bringing men to a Christian way of life. The diversities should

enrich, not retard, progress toward that unity which alone carried hope for mankind. For Douglass there could be no compromise with this ideal, yes, this truth, attested, he felt, by every research project he had done.

I cannot forbear, before closing, a very hasty glance into the future. In a sense this group (Religious Research Association) is an outgrowth of the work that Douglass and his colleagues at the Institute did. That is both gratifying and encouraging. But I wonder if he were here today what he would say. I am sure he would approve the service research that has been done to help individual churches, neighborhoods, and communities be more effective in the service of religion.

But I believe he would grieve to have research in the area of religion stop there. Our society is changing rapidly. Broad social and economic, to say nothing of political, forces are loose in the world. Have they affected the institutions of religion? Is his typology of churches still valid? If not, how should it be amended? If so, what light does it shed on the contemporary situation? The current recession ignored, per family income in terms of constant dollars has been rising for nearly 20 years. Gifts to churches have also risen. Is this a function of the increased membership or do the values expressed by religion mean so much that in terms of constant dollars the church has improved its position or held its own or lost? Whatever the answer, what meaning does it hold for institutionalized religion? There is far less disparity in wealth today in the United States than was once the case. Has this lowered the barriers that marked social stratification or is the basis for stratification changing in and out of the church? The educational level of our population is rising. By 1960 the median years of schooling of adults 21 to 35, perhaps even 40, will include a semester of college experience. What does this mean for the church, for the training of its clergy and for the thousands of churches served by clergy with sub-standard education? Should our denominations adopt widespread programs of in-service training for such clergy? These and other fundamental questions would, I think, intrigue Douglass were he alive today. I put them to you, his successors.

I think Douglass would also be interested in some of the more subtle and difficult problems. With the rise in the proportion of the American people enrolled in churches, have values and beliefs been diluted or has the conviction deepened that the Christian way of life in its personal and social aspects is a practical guide to behavior? Has the evident increase in tolerance for varying shades of opinion among us continued or not since Douglass detected it in the

late 1920's? Is there a gulf between the beliefs of the clergy and the laity or, as a recent study claims to show, do the expressed convictions of the clergy, especially as to ethics, take on the coloration of the communities and congregations they serve? Have the clergy been intimidated, as have some teachers, by the phenomenon of McCarthyism? What is the meaning of the concomitant rise in church membership and of crime, especially among youth? These are some of the questions on which more light would be welcome and useful.

I know, of course, that many of your administrative officers are hounded by "practical" problems for which they want and should have workable answers from you. The research questions I have suggested are expensive. There would be questions as to whether the gifts of Christians should be spent to satisfy such curiosity. This is a familiar problem to my fellow rural sociologists. The directors of the experiment stations of our state colleges of agriculture used to talk that way, except that they said taxpayers instead of Christians. Too many still do. But these questions too have practical import only a level or two beyond that on which many of your current studies are conducted. Moreover, they can be related to other studies in sociology, and much gained in the development of knowledge and theory by pursuing them.

Judging by the experiences of a number of university research organizations like my own, more and more leaders in business and the professions are beginning to think in these terms. Currently we at the Bureau of Applied Social Research are engaged in sociological studies in medicine, law, education, engineering, business, and social work. Our largest project at the moment is financed by a very large corporation. These are not mere marketing or service research studies. If they were, we would not be doing them. Will religion lag? The competence to lead is in your group, and in Douglass' name let me sound the call to advance.

REVIEWS OF CURRENT BOOKS

Foundations of the Responsible Society. By Walter G. Muelder
New York: Abingdon Press, 1959. 304 pp., \$6.00.

In a letter written in commendation of one of the chapters of this book, Albert Einstein said,

It particularly impressed me that you did not

limit yourself to abstract statements which mostly leave too much space for interpretation. You have shown by concrete examples unequivocally what you mean.

This statement is cited to warn off those readers who subscribe to a current fashion that treatises in Christian ethics should deal so fundamentally with first principles that they never get around to making any applications at all. The scandal of Walter Muelder's *Foundations of the Responsible Society* is that it is a treatise in Christian social ethics which deals with the problems of social ethics.

However, this does not mean that the author neglects the foundations. The opening chapter on "The Idea of the Responsible Society" is most carefully wrought. After citing the Amsterdam definition of the responsible society, Walter Muelder goes on to clarify the basic principles of responsibility to God, of respect for persons, and of the meanings of freedom, justice, and equality. A properly theological mind might wish to cavil concerning the adequacy of some of these utterances, but Muelder prefers to move on to "Some Concrete Demands" and to some "Emerging Perspectives."

As one progresses in a reading of this book, one is struck by the boldness, the breadth, and the scope of the undertaking. For the social unit which is under scrutiny here is all of mankind, which is considered as both an "unconscious and conscious unit of cooperation." The main components of this world culture are the family, the school, the government, and the economic and religious institutions. None of these is disposed of in any perfunctory manner, however. There are at least three chapters that deal with the state, and five that deal with economic processes, although the interactions of these institutions with one another and with the home, the church, and education, are constantly kept in mind.

There are several chapters which especially claimed the attention of this reader. The treatment of the problems of labor and of management is singularly free from traditional clichés and categories, and brings the whole affair up to date. The chapter on the relationship of the church to the duties and agencies of social welfare provides a much needed emphasis. The presentation of the ethics of "responsible" consumption offers a challenge to our prosperous society. The detailed analysis of various alternatives in agricultural policy is also helpful. I welcome all these discussions, although I cannot accept the principle of "consumer sovereignty" in a creative economy, and I think the author is so enamored of the values of the family farm that he is not quite realistic in coping with the urgencies of large-scale production in agriculture.

One most welcome chapter deals with "The Social Foundation of Civil Law." Walter Muelder first displayed his skill at legal questions in his *Religion and Economic Re-*

sponsibility (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), and he returns to these matters now with an enlarged perspective. It is regrettable that this aspect of social institutions has been so much neglected by Protestants, as it has been so carefully cultivated by Roman Catholics. Mr. Muel-der would affirm the sacred character of natural law and of moral law, and promises that in a subsequent volume he will "deal extensively with the relations of Christ to the moral law," and "will indicate how a personal and social response to Jesus Christ can be integrated with an empirical and rational analysis of moral principles which are relevant to cross-cultural norms." Personally I look forward with eagerness to the appearance of such a volume.

Meanwhile we may remark that sometimes the author falls into the rationalistic fallacy by taking his social sciences a bit too seriously. At one point he admonishes us:

Responsible family planning must provide for diverse personal and social values, such as the complementary functions of men and women, their respective economic roles, the relations of parents to dependent offspring, the long periods of the reproductive cycle, the longer period of childhood and adolescence, the conditions for the optimum development of the personality of children, the socialization of the siblings, the introduction of the children into the larger patterns of the consanguine group or of the neighborhood and community, and the education of the children for adult roles.

After reading which, and then gasping for breath, I can only say that I am glad that no one warned me of these awful responsibilities when I was contemplating matrimony, or I should never have married. And in any case, heaven forbid that all this business should be carefully "planned!"

Furthermore, this book, with all its excellence, suggests to me that the currently fashionable approach to Christian social ethics, which, of course, is the "responsible" approach, is simply an expression of the neo-conservatism which is the paralysis creeping into every American enterprise today. In brief, this is the method which is conscientious, piece-meal, analytic, and pulverized into a multitude of carefully enumerated points. There is here no radical critique, no great program of reform, no trumpet-call to the inauguration of God's kingdom. As the introduction indicates, the approach is ecumenical, eclectic, interdisciplinary, with a concern for "emergent coherence." But I am one who can say, "I remember Walter when" he was still a prophet and not yet a dean (as I am now, too), and when an unregenerate passion for social justice was stronger than any diplomatic inclination toward coherence.

Indeed I am at a loss to know whether this book is properly a treatise in Christian ethics or a kind of current

history and contemporary sociology of Christian ethics. We get more authoritative citations from the councils and conferences of Amsterdam, Evanston, Jerusalem, Stockholm, Oxford, London, Geneva, Bangkok, and Basle, than from the Bible. We hear from Margaret Mead if not from Martin Luther, from Roscoe Pound if not from Deuteronomy, from Ruth Nanda Anshen and Simone de Beauvoir if not from Calvin and Wesley. No doubt something of this sort needs to be done. But I am enough of a primitive Protestant in my Christian social ethics to believe that one ringing word from a true prophet of the Lord is worth all the pronouncements of all the ecumenical councils and all the ex cathedra utterances of all the social scientists put together in howsoever erudite an exhibition of emergent coherence. Furthermore, I have every conviction that Walter Muelder is one who can utter that word.

Nevertheless, in spite of these cantankerous outcries from an irritated atavist in Christian social action, let us not fail to note the importance of what has been done here. Just as Walter Muelder's *Religion and Economic Responsibility* is the best single volume to confront us with the various problems in one sphere of our lives, so *Foundations of the Responsible Society* is the best single volume to confront us with the various problems in all spheres of our lives in society. For this reason the new book will have considerable use as a text in colleges and in seminaries, and will be widely and profitably used as a basis for discussion by intelligent laymen's groups. We may hope in the future for a more fundamental and prophetic clarification of first principles and categorical imperatives. But meanwhile we can get ready with cases.

Robert E. Fitch, Pacific School of Religion

Social Problems and Social Action. By Mary E. Walsh and Paul H. Furfey. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1958, 465 pp., \$6.25.

Dr. Walsh, a member of the faculty at Catholic University, has been active mainly in the field of social work and is presently director of Fides Neighborhood House in Washington. Father Furfey is head of the Department of Sociology at Catholic University. The volume here reviewed is a textbook designed to combine sociological information with a Catholic approach to society.

The fundamental viewpoint of the volume is indicated on its first page when a "social problem" is defined as "a deviation from the social ideal remediable by group effort." That is, the authors are frankly committed to a certain social philosophy and oriented towards social action based on that philosophy. Sociological information is integrated in-

to this conceptual framework. The criteria for establishing the "social ideal" are equally frankly stated. These are ethics based on the natural law, in the Aristotelian-Thomistic sense, and moral theology as enunciated by the Catholic church. Considerable space is devoted to a criticism of moral relativism as expounded, explicitly or implicitly, by many non-Catholic sociologists. The action advocated by the authors consists in the application of these criteria to society, as in the various Catholic movements that seek to apply the principles of the so-called social encyclicals beginning with the *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII. The Jocistes, a Catholic movement for working-class youth that originated in Belgium, is cited as a prime example of such action.

There is a certain appeal to assumptions thus frankly stated. The authors are surely correct in pointing out that much so-called "morally neutral" writing in sociology is no less based on certain philosophical assumptions. Nor are there any methodological objections to the use of sociological information within a conceptual framework based on Catholic social philosophy. The trouble begins when the conceptual framework impinges on the perception of reality.

Beginning with the statement that health is the first good that a social order ought to protect, the authors discuss seven main problem areas: physical and mental health, the family, "inter-group problems" (that is, a discussion of minority groups), adult and juvenile crime, the economy, the "subproletariat" (a term coined by the authors and intended to describe the lowest stratum of society), and war. There are certain merits to this choice. For example, the choice of the first problem area enables the authors to present a good discussion of the question of adequate medical care, rather a rarity in college sociology texts.

Unfortunately, the discussion of other problem areas cannot be characterized in the same positive way. For example, in the discussion of the family the authors, from their presuppositions, certainly cannot be reproached for stating that birth control is contrary to the natural law. They can be reproached for not even relating the question to the world demographic situation. Again, the authors cannot be blamed for pointing to permanent monogamy as their ideal. They can be blamed for the total omission of anthropological literature from their sources which would have introduced a cross-cultural perspective into the discussion. Scattered throughout the volume are similar examples of the conceptual framework rendering difficult the analysis of the facts under discussion.

In terms of the amount of sociological information presented, the most serious shortcoming would appear to be the neglect of class. The question is discussed only briefly in the chapter on the economy.

The authors tell us that "a Catholic reasoning about moral problems is something like a student of mathematics

working on a problem whose answer he already knows" (p. 38). This reviewer, not being so privileged, would have liked to see a more exacting arithmetic employed in the exercise. At best, there is an air of innocence about this brand of sociology (let it be said in fairness that this is certainly not the monopoly of Catholic writers). In a more serious way, this kind of sociology tends to become a conservative ideology. What is questioned is not society, but its "problems"; not the structures in which men live, but the holes in those structures; not injustice, but bad attitudes; not the law, but the "problem" of crime--as we are directed to look at a "genial Irish-American patrolman" who "seems to enjoy his work" (p. 325).

This book will hardly recommend itself to sociologists outside Catholic schools. We are not competent to judge how well the authors have presented Catholic social thought. It is likely, though, that even from these presuppositions sociological information could be presented in more trenchant fashion.

Peter L. Berger, Hartford Seminary Foundation

Religious Behavior. By Michael Argyle. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959. 196 pp., \$5.00.

In both the sociology and the psychology of religion, theory and empirical findings have developed independently, and there have been few attempts to bridge the chasm. This is Michael Argyle's thesis. His book is a systematic and admirable effort both to assemble British and American statistical findings and to relate them to outstanding theories of religious behavior and belief.

A lecturer in social psychology at the University of Oxford, the author spent part of 1956 as visiting lecturer at the University of Michigan; last year he was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. Earlier he wrote *The Scientific Study of Social Behavior* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957).

His present work proposes

to establish first of all the detailed statistical relationships between religious behavior and all the variables associated with it, regardless of why these should be as they are. We shall then put forward various theories which give explanations of such statistical relations; it is in these theories that suggestions about the mechanisms responsible for the statistical findings are to be found. Such theories will be tested by their success at explaining a wide range of data; predictions will be made from them and the evidence examined to see how far

these are borne out.

This ambitious program is surprisingly well fulfilled.

Variables pursued in this brief volume include: environmental factors, age, sex difference, individual personality traits and attitudes, mental disorders, sex and marriage. The studies cited range over many fields and probably represent the most comprehensive collection of American and British findings so far drawn together. There will be "news" for every reader.

Collection is not simply for collection's sake. The relation of available data to major extant theories of religious behavior is a most stimulating (and controversial) contribution. So also are the numerous "clues" for further empirical testing that crop up on nearly every page.

One conclusion Argyle draws from various findings is that "it is not the genuinely devout who are prejudiced, but the conventionally religious." Church attendance is less frequent for the latter. Yet Samuel Stouffer's competent study found that prejudice in certain areas (communism, socialism, pacifism, atheism) and unwillingness to grant civil liberties increased with frequency of church attendance. While Argyle's areas of prejudice differ, this finding may call for modification of his conclusion.

The final typology (Conservative Religion, Protestantism, Sects, Liberalism) and the application of theories of religious behavior to each is a concise and provocative statement of the author's own conclusions.

Glen W. Trimble, National Council of Churches

Human Nature and Christian Marriage. By William P. Wylie. New York: Association Press, 1959. 128 pp., \$2.50.

A Christian Interpretation of Marriage. By Henry A. Bowman. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959. 127 pp., \$2.50.

At a time when research shows both clergy and lay people are calling for an understanding of sex and marriage informed by theology, these two little volumes will come as a boon. Neither is sentimental; both are theologically oriented although the authors draw upon different traditions in their interpretive statements. Bowman writes primarily to engaged couples, Wylie to young marrieds who are just emerging from the honeymoon stage.

Writing from an Anglo-Catholic perspective, William Wylie (a priest of the Church of England and lecturer for its Moral Welfare Council) contributes a point of view on marriage which counters the prevailing American emphasis on individualistic love. Quite correctly, he points out, "While Christianity concentrates on marriage, our culture concentrates almost exclusively on love." He describes the marriage state, the one-flesh relationship, as the creation

of a real unity, an irrepeatable "mystic third person" which exists quite independently of any discord or harmony in the union. His illustrations will give pause to the typical Protestant who defines marriage in terms of subjective experience. Marriage as a *vocation*, or calling from God, also introduces an objective note which is missing in most current discussions. One can be called to married life, to permanent singleness, or to that interim premarital status which, in the author's words, calls for "guarded sexuality."

The discussion of marriage, especially the early years of adjustment, is perceptive; the premarital state does not fare as well in his treatment. The tensions and trials of the single state as a calling are well-nigh ignored. The author's case for premarital chastity could be stronger. He leans heavily upon empirical or rational arguments which at best are temporary and all-too-cerebral. If he had adhered to the Biblical covenant motif (as he does with his discussion of basic sexuality in Genesis), his position would have been defensible. At this point, as well as in his treatment of contraception, his Anglo-Catholic orientation creeps in. Unfortunately, the Lambeth report had not yet made its revolutionary witness nor were the new positions of other communions on planned parenthood available to the author. But, in general, this is a good book and will fill a great need.

Henry Bowman comes at the subject of Christian marriage from the standpoint of a liberal Protestant, now a professor at the University of Texas, who has taught marriage courses to college students for twenty-five years. Bowman's strongest chapter is the one entitled "Premarital Sex Relations." He asks and discusses the basic questions with full attention to the motives involved. Unlike Wylie, he bases his argument for pre-marital chastity upon the concept of "exclusiveness" in the marital relationship which is informed by the Biblical concept of covenantal faithfulness.

A liberalism which sees present relationships in the family as the locus of complete fulfillment (rather than as eschatological hope) permeates the book. The author seems committed to the idea of "companionship marriage" as the optimum form and climax of the evolution of the family. He fails to consider recent research (D. R. Miller and G. E. Swanson, *The Changing American Parent*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958) which is marshalling evidence that the family is changing due to economic shifts in the culture. One suspects more than a little reading in of cultural norms when Bowman claims that, "more than any other type of marriage known, this kind approaches the Christian ideal and at least potentially incorporates within itself the attitudes and principles taught and exemplified by Jesus."

The book has features which commend it strongly to church discussion groups: a good, provocative set of questions for each chapter; and a reproduction in the appendix of the key New Testament passages on sex, marriage, and di-

vorce.

Roy W. Fairchild, San Francisco Theological Seminary

What Is the Nature of Man? Images of Man in our American Culture. By Kenneth Boulding, et al. Philadelphia. Christian Education Press, 1959. 209 pp., \$3.00.

One way contemporary students ask questions about God is to ask them about man. Alexander Pope's assertion that the proper study of mankind is man is not so far wrong when one remembers that if mankind is properly studied he inevitably raises the question of What or Who it is that transcends him, just as he transcends his environment and even himself.

The Christian Education Press has brought out the collection of 16 papers written for the 1957 convention of the Religious Education Association, some of which were delivered at the convention, others published prior to it in the journal *Religious Education*. The lead essay and preface are by Randolph Crump Miller, who presumably has edited the papers. Kenneth Boulding writes about "Secular Images in the Social Sciences," Robert E. Fitch about "Secular Images in Current Literature," Abraham Heschel about "Man as an Object of Divine Concern," Joseph Sittler, Jr., about man "In the Light of our Biblical Tradition", and there are other contributions on biology, history, cultural pluralism, Christian humanism, education, freedom, and so on.

Since man, image, and culture are three "okay" words of the day, the authors of the papers were virtually certain to hit on important topical concerns. In most cases the discussions are sound and well balanced, but comparatively little is said that is new.

The most readable and informative essays are those of Kenneth Boulding, Abraham Heschel, Roger Shinn, and Joseph Sittler. Professor Boulding shines as the best writer in the book, and he is particularly ingratiating in this essay, in which he makes it perfectly clear what the social sciences can and cannot do. He knows how much they lose on account of the methodologies by which they gain.

Professor Heschel writes provocatively about man as the only symbol for God that the Old Testament allows.

Professor Fitch, as is his custom, beats contemporary literature over the head. "The first message of our faith against secular images and secular idols," he writes, "is the prophetic message of judgment." He seems to equate "the prophetic message of judgment" with tongue lashing. He likes to tell Tennessee Williams, Eugene O'Neill, John Osborne, and Albert Camus to straighten up and fly right. Elsewhere in the book, Professors Sittler and Shinn express another attitude toward the secular, a humbler one, and thus

their treatment of contemporary literature is less vindictive and more enlightening.

A book worth while, and a contribution to inter-faith discussions as well, for the contributors are Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish.

Tom F. Driver, Union Theological Seminary

California Cult: The Story of Mankind United. By H. T. Dohrman. Boston: Beacon Press, 1958. 163 pp., \$3.95.

Escape to Utopia: The Communal Movement in America. By Everett Webber. New York: Hastings House, 1959. 444 pp., \$5.50.

Several common attributes mark these two volumes. Both deal with perfectionistic, utopian, and communal expressions of religious zeal. Both are concerned essentially with reporting a good story in an interesting manner. Both recount the short-lived careers of the self-anointed mouthpieces of God.

California Cult is a case study of a "deviant species of religious expression" known as Mankind United. To come to know this cult is to participate in a science fiction adventure. Its arsenal of teachings is replete with inventions for disarming wicked armies (no more wars), a "seeing eye" capable of suspending animation, secret codes communicated to co-workers via a gadget attached to their radios, magic carpets to reach any point in the world by three hours, eye-socket vibrator, explorations into other planetary systems, etc. A cloud of secrecy enshrouds this organization with its mysterious sacred texts and unknown "Sponsors" who are waging a death struggle with the devilish "Hidden Rulers."

The only living person who can fathom these mysterious wonders is one Arthur L. Bell, who is commissioned to save the world from a terrifying pattern of life more extreme than that depicted in 1984. Through Mankind United, a new utopian age of beauty and splendor will be inaugurated. One language and one people, with harmony and happiness, will prevail.

Escape to Utopia is an historical survey of religious and secular experiments in communal living during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The book recounts the many endeavors to spin out the good life, or at least to search for it, in such communities as Shadrach, Mother Ann, Shakers, Jeminakins, Pantisocrats, Robert Owen, Brook Farm, Icaria, Amana, Oneida, and many others. Although lacking in institutional stability, these communes housed some 100,000 people in over 130 settlements during the course of a century. They sought to embody the basic "idea of providing for the pooling of labor and goods and of living from a

common supply." Other motivations were at work: flight from machine, or from cities, or from poverty, or from preoccupation with sex. Each version of the communal scheme guaranteed its devotees salvation here or hereafter or both.

Researchers are likely to be disappointed with both these works, as they are almost exclusively descriptive and fail to acknowledge or draw on previous research and theory. Reading these two works, one has no hints that a whole body of literature on sectarianism exists. Both books are so engrossed with telling an interesting story to an eager public that they miss the sociological significance of that story. Problems of institutionalization, of survival and death of organizations, are hardly touched upon. Yet both volumes give an empathetic interpretation of how the cult and sect member feels, thinks, and acts.

A cynic reading these two books may well confirm his conviction that a "sucker is born every minute." Another view of the matter is that the search for the good life is an endless quest. And millions are eager to follow an appealing leader down whatever path that longing seems to lead.

Robert Lee, Union Theological Seminary

THE RELIGIOUS RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

Annual Meeting Notes
Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois
June 20-21, 1959

The annual meeting was called to order by the president, Lauris B. Whitman. The minutes of the 1958 annual meeting were approved. The treasurer's report, read by Anne Lively, was accepted. Charles Thorne presented the Auditing Committee's report, which commended the work of the treasurer and recommended an elaboration of the current accounting system as demanded by the noteworthy membership growth of the Association and by the expansion of the program into such activities as the annual Harlan Paul Douglass Lectureship and the publication of a journal--REVIEW OF RELIGIOUS RESEARCH. Implementation of this suggestion during the current year is a responsibility of the Board of Directors.

Reports from the Executive Committee, Program Committee (Glen Trimble), Membership Committee (Vladimir Hart-

man), Publications Committee (Frederick A. Shippey), Constitution Revision Committee (Yoshio Fukuyama), and Nominating Committee (Frederick A. Shippey) were heard and approved.

Highlights from these reports include the following facts. This has been a year of transition. Strong programs have been planned and carried out in February at Drew University and in June at the University of Chicago. Will Herberg addressed the former and Joseph H. Fichter lectured at the latter. During the past year the Association sustained a net membership gain of twenty per cent. A new Constitution was adopted by the voting membership. Its adoption included four significant changes: 1) the change in name from The Religious Research Fellowship to The Religious Research Association; 2) the change in duties and terms of the officers; 3) the addition of the membership category "contributing members"; and 4) the increase in dues.

The publication of an official journal REVIEW OF RELIGIOUS RESEARCH was another achievement in this year of transition. It contains papers given on the Harlan Paul Douglass annual Lectureship, plus articles of current interest, book reviews, and research news. The association's budget for the ensuing year was adopted. The Board of Directors was instructed to appoint an *ad hoc* Publicity Committee and to investigate the details respecting incorporation of the Association.

The following officers were duly elected:

President Lauris B. Whitman (2 years)

Vice President. Walter Kloetzli, Jr. (2 years)

Secretary-Treasurer Carolyn J. Odell (2 years)

Directors-at-Large. Joseph H. Fichter (4 years)
. David O. Moberg (2 years)

Nominating Committee (2 years)

George Kaslow, Chairman; Val Clear, Fred Michel, John Shope, and Charles Thorne

Membership Committee (2 years)

Vladimir E. Hartman, Chairman

Publications Committee (2 years)

Frederick A. Shippey, Chairman & Editor of the REVIEW.

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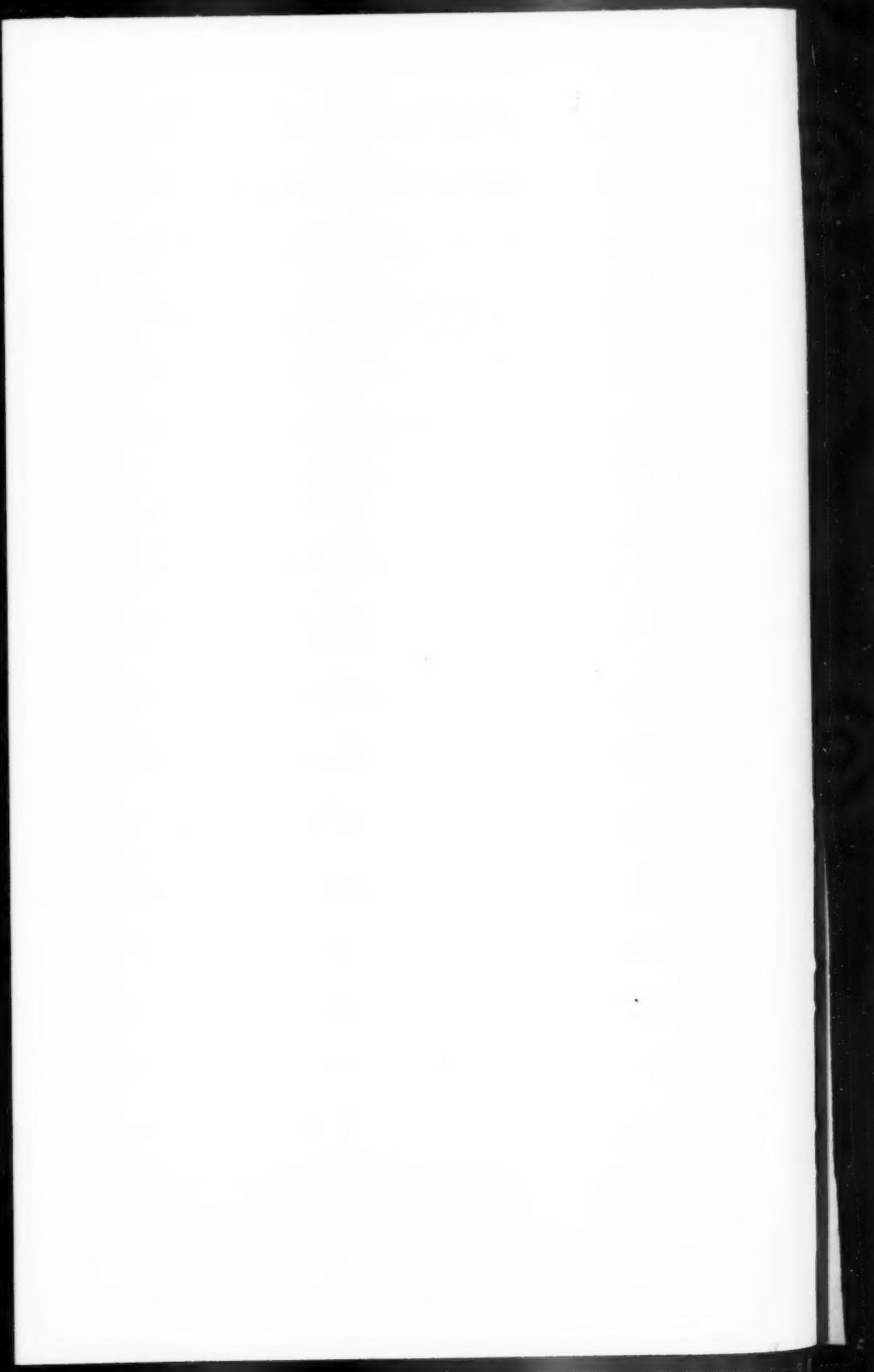
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MID-WINTER MEETINGS

Mid-Western Section--Friday, January 29, 1960
Hotel Pick-Mark Twain, St. Louis, Missouri

Program features include the following papers:

- "The Sacred and the Sect"
 - Albert Wessen, Washington University
- "Some Potential Sources of Information on the Religious Aspects of Family Life"
 - John Thomas, St. Louis University
- "Religious Reorganization among the Montana Blackfeet"
 - Allen Spitzer, St. Louis University
- "Some Problems of Applied Sociology"
 - Allan Gouldner, Washington University
- "Recent Developments in Religious Research"
 - Lauris Whitman, National Council of Churches

Eastern Section--Friday, February 12, 1960
Drew University, Madison, New Jersey

Program features include the following papers:

- "Religion and Economic Growth"
 - Kenneth Underwood, Connecticut Wesleyan University
- "Social Sources of Ecumenicity"
 - Robert Lee, Union Theological Seminary
- "The Layman's Movement in Europe"
 - Peter Berger, Hartford Theological Seminary
- "The Layman's Image of the Minister"
 - Samuel W. Blizzard, Princeton Theological Seminary
- "Role Differentiation and Belief Systems of Church Laymen"
 - Phillip Hammond, student, Columbia University
- "Research in the Church and Higher Education"
 - Wesley Hotchkiss, Congregational Christian Churches

Attendance: Interested persons may attend the program sessions and should direct inquiries pertaining to membership to the secretary of the Association, P. O. Box 228, Cathedral Station, New York 25, New York.